

to arms. The local governments announced their loyalty to the Republic. In three days all was over; Kapp capitulated. This incident, however, revealed the weak point in the armor of the Republic—the deep split in the ranks of the workers. In some provinces, the Spartakists and some left-wing Socialists used the confusion to seize power under Lenin's slogan: "All power to the Soviets." Long after order was restored in Berlin, civil war was smoldering in the Ruhr.

A new Reichstag was elected in June, 1922. The election showed a shift to the right in the nation. A parliamentary government could not be organized except through a coalition in which non-Socialist elements predominated.

The major task of the coalition government was to liquidate the aftermath of the war. Germany had been disarmed and humiliated. It had lost a sizable part of its territory, all its colonies, and its merchant marine. It was blockaded, partly occupied by foreign troops, compelled to deliver coal, lumber, cattle, and railroad rolling stock to its enemies. Above all, it was saddled with reparations of undetermined size.

The great majority of the German people could not understand that these calamities were the results of military defeat. Their army had not been beaten! Wasn't it standing on foreign soil when the armistice was signed? The German cities had greeted the returning troops with triumphal arches: "To our victorious soldiers!" "To our invincible troops!" Why had this army been ordered to surrender? Who was to blame for the national disgrace? Either the people had never heard or had forgotten that Hindenburg and Ludendorff had asked for an immediate armistice. They were made to believe that Germany had fallen a victim to treason. Wilson had lured her into peace negotiations; the mutineers in Kiel had destroyed her glorious fleet; the Socialists in Berlin had forced the good Kaiser to abdicate. Germany's political leaders realized that their country had to bear the consequences of defeat, but the prevailing spirit of the people when we went to Berlin in the spring of 1922 was a mixture of bewilderment and self-pity, suspicion against everybody and doubt of everything, humiliation and suppressed arrogance, blind hatred of the Versailles Treaty, and hope of revenge.

The political pendulum swung from left to right during the eleven years we spent in Germany. Time and again people went to the polls and voted one way or another, but their general psychology remained the same. As a nation, the Germans did not regain peace of mind, and there was neither national unity nor stability in the Weimar Republic.